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ON THE WORDS FOR "ANGER" IN CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

A STUDY IN LINGUISTIC PSYCHOLOGY.

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In such works as Darwin's "On the Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals," Romanes' "Mental Evolution in Man and Animals," Mantegazza's "Fisionomia e Mimica," "Fisiologia dell' Odio," etc., one looks in vain for a section devoted to the examination of the concepts of the various emotions as revealed by the terms used by the ruder and more primitive peoples to denote them. In connection with the theory of the emotions put forth by Prof. James, and as illustrations of the intimate kinship of psychology and philology, such investigations are of no little interest. Studies of the emotion of love from this stand-point have been made by Dr. D. G. Brinton (3), for certain American aboriginal tongues, and by Dr. Carl Abel for Latin, Hebrew, Russian and English (1).

So far as the present writer is aware, no attempt has been made to discuss the subject of anger, and this brief essay is intended a beginning in the sematology of that emotion. First, let us glance at our own language. *Anger*, which in Middle English meant "affliction, sorrow, wrath, pain, inflammation" — we still speak of "an *angry* wound or sore," and the familiar phrase of Shakespeare "more in sorrow than in *anger*," preserves traces of the kin of grief—is borrowed from Scandinavian, and, with its cognates: Icelandic *angr* (grief, sorrow); Danish *anger* (compunction, regret); Swedish *ånger* (repentance, penitence, regret, compunction, sorrow—the adjective *ånger* signifies "afraid, sorry"); Latin *angor* (strangling, throttling, quinsy, bodily torture, anguish, vexation, grief, sorrow; *angere*, to compress, stifle, choke, strain, strangle, throttle, twitch, gripe, trouble, torment, vex); Greek *ἀχος* (ache, pain, distress — used in Homer of the mind only; *ἀλγω*, "I mourn, am sad at heart, grieve, I vex, distress, make to grieve;" *ἀλγω*, "I press tight, press the throat, strangle, throttle,") etc., go back to a primitive Indo-European radical *agh* (*angh*) expressive of the very physical idea, "to choke, to oppress, to constrict." Our common English phrase "choked with anger" is really tautological at bottom, for *anger* once meant *choking*. Other interesting words which have sprung from the same root are: *awe* (fear, dread), cognate with Icelandic *agi* (terror), Danish *ave* (check, control, restraint); Gothic *agis* (fear, fright, terror); and (probably) Sanskrit *amhas* (pain), *agha* (sin); *ugly* (frightful, hateful — compare German *hässlich*; we speak of "an *ugly* temper," and in American English *ugly* signifies "ill-tempered, gross-grained, vicious"); cognate with Icelandic *uggligr* (fearful, frightful, dreadful, to be feared; *y'gligr*, terrible; *y'gr*, fierce), *uggr* (fear), *ugga* (to fear), *ögn* (ter-

ror), *ōgna* (to threaten); Gothic *ōgan* (to fear), *ogjan* (to terrify); all of which are from a base *ag* or *og*, "to fear," itself a derivative from *agh* in the larger sense indicated above. Our *ache* is also related, a memory of which is yet present in the assertion of the school-boy preparing to assail his opponent, "I'm just *aching* to get at you." Another shoot from the same stock is German *Angst* (anguish, anxiety, fear, pang), a word apparently occurring only in the High German dialects — Gothic has, however, *aggwītha*, "anguish" — and related to Latin *angustia* ("narrowness, straitness, difficulty" — whence French *angoisse*, our *anguish*), and German *enge* (narrow, restricted), *bange* ("anxious, afraid," from *be+enge*), which latter word in Middle High German was also a substantive, with the meaning "sorrow, anxiety."

Another English word for "anger, indignation" is *wrath*, a substantive, derived from the Anglo-Saxon adjective *wrāð* (whence also our *wroth*, "angry, wrathful"), and cognate with Icelandic *reiði* (wrath). The correlation of *wroth* is with Icelandic *reiðr*, Danish and Swedish *vred* (angry, wrathful); Dutch *wreed* (cruel, hard, harsh), and *reit*, which in Middle and Old High German meant "twisted, curled." In truth, the Anglo-Saxon *wrāð* is but the past of *wriðan* (our *writhe*, "to twist to and fro," Icelandic *riða*, Danish *vide*, Swedish *vida*, Old High German [the word is lost in the modern tongue] *ridan* "to wring, twist, turn, wrest, to wind"); going back to an Indo-European root *uert*, seen also in Latin *uertere*, "to turn, twist." A man *wroth*, then, is literally one whose mind or body is "turned, twisted, awry."

Our word *cross* (ill-tempered, angry), in Middle English, *crous*, finds its cognates in Dutch *kroes* (curled, crumpled, confused, *cross*, stubborn); Modern German *kraus* (curly, crinkled, crisp, etc.). The Low German proverb: "Krüse hār un kruse sin, dār sit de düfel drēmal in," brings out the same idea in curious fashion, and Martin Luther delighted to hurl at one of his opponents the significant taunt "Krauses Haar, krauser Sinn." To be *cross*, then, is to have a mind that is "curled, crooked." A similar turn of thought appears in the word "crook," and Lombroso and the anthropological psychiatrists may well be pardoned for maintaining that a "crook" is a man with a "crooked body" as well as a "crooked mind."

Zorn (anger, wrath, passion, rage, indignation, irritation), which in Middle and Old High German had the further meanings "quarrel, wordy encounter, brawl, dispute, violence, rage of the elements, affront, insult," is cognate with Old Saxon *torn* (anger, indignation); Dutch *toorn* (anger); *torn* (shock, strife, contest, tearing apart of a seam, ripping); Anglo-Saxon *torn* (anger, insult), and seems to be an old participle from the root *ter* seen in our verb to *tear*; Old High German *zēran* (to tear, destroy); Gothic *gataitan* (to tear); Russian *drate* (to tear); Lithuanian *dirti* (to flay); Greek *δέπειν* (to flay); Zend *dar* (to cut); Sanskrit *dri* (to burst, to burst open, to tear asunder); the Indo-European radical at the base of all being *der* (to burst, to tear asunder). We find also the verb *ziernen* and the adjective *zornig*. Judged by the word *zorn*, therefore, "anger" reveals "a torn mind"—we still say "distracted with grief" and "torn by conflicting emotions," and speak of "tearing around," "being on a tear."

Another word for "anger, fury, rage" in Modern German is *Grimm*, an indication of whose older signification is found in the compound *Bauch-grimmen*. In Old High German *grim* meant "anger, rage, hostility, fierceness, pain;" Dutch *grim* (anger, fury). In our "*grim* Death," we have preserved one of the many meanings of the corresponding adjective (fierce, angry-looking, etc.); cog-

nate with Dutch *grimmig* ("angry"—*grimmen*, "to foam with rage"); Icelandic *grimmr* (grim, stern), Danish *grim* (grim, ugly); Swedish *grym* ("cruel, grim, furious"—*grymta*, "to grunt"); Old High German *grim*, *grimmi* (wild, fierce, hostile, terrible, violent, painful); Modern High German *grimm*, *grimmig* (enraged, furious, wrathful, fierce, violent, grim). Here again the kinship of "anger" and "sorrow" appears, for from the same root as *Grimm* comes *Gram* (grief, sorrow, etc.). The adjective *gram* (hostile) is cognate with Icelandic *gramr* (wrathful); Danish *gram* (wrathful); Gothic *gram* "angry"—seen only in the verb *gramjan* (to make angry, to excite to anger); Anglo-Saxon *gram*. The Anglo-Saxon *grimetan* (to rage, roar, grunt); Russian *gremiete* ("to thunder"—*grom*, "a loud noise"), and the distantly related *grin*, *groan*, *grumble*, indicate the ultimate origin which is from the Indo-European *ghrm* (to make a loud noise), derived from the more primitive *ghr* (to make a noise, to yell). In like manner we speak of a *grumpy* or *grumpish* man, meaning one who is crabbed or ill-tempered. Employing the same metaphor we speak of "*howling* with rage," "*bellowing* with anger," and "*groaning* in spirit."

A very common expression in German for "to be angry" is "auf einen böse sein." *Böse*, which now signifies "bad, evil, wicked, angry, sore, cross, ill-tempered, malicious" and of children, "naughty," is peculiarly a German, word not being found in other dialects. In Middle and Old High German *bæse* and *bōsi* had the meanings "bad, worthless, evil, greedy, slanderous," and Kluge cites the Old High German *bōsōn* (to slander, to revile) as indicating that the original meaning of *böse* was "slandering, maliciously speaking."

In Middle English we meet with *wodewroth* (madly angry) and *wode* (mad, raging), the *wood* (mad, furious) of Shakespeare, cognate with Icelandic *óðr* (raging, frantic); Gothic *woods* (raging, raging, possessed). The corresponding substantive is seen in Dutch *woede* (rage, fury, madness); Modern German *Wut* (rage, fury, madness); the adjective is *wütig*, the verb *wüten*. The Teutonic radical from which all of these come is *woda* (mad, furious, frantic). In Lowland Scotch *wod* or *wud* means "raving mad, stark mad." Related are also Anglo-Saxon *wōð* (voice, song); Icelandic *óðr* (poetry, song); Latin *vates* (bard, god-inspired poet); Irish *fáith* (bard), the radical idea being indicated by the Sanskrit *vat*—"to stir up the mind, to incite the mind"—a bard is one whose mind is filled with divine frenzy. Here belongs also perhaps the god *Woden*, whose *wütendes Heer* is well-known in German mythology. We even yet speak of a man in anger as being "*stirred up*," "*aroused* to indignation," "*moved* to wrath," etc.

Ire, fury, rage, indignation, choler, passion, resentment, we have borrowed from Latin, through French. *Resentment* (from French *ressentiment*, ultimately derived from Latin *re*, "again," *sentire*, "to feel," like the verb "to *resent*," has changed from its original signification, "being sensible of, having a sensible apprehension of," to that of being aggrieved at, taking ill, being indignant at, getting angry at." *Passion*, which in English means "suffering, strong agitation of mind, rage," comes to us through French *passion*, from the Latin *passio*, "suffering," cognate with *patior* (I suffer, endure).

Indignation, "anger at what is unworthy," is derived through French *indignation*, from Latin *indignatio*, "displeasure, indignation, disdain," which comes from *indignor* (I consider unworthy—*indignus*—I am indignant, I am displeased at). We find also Latin *indignitas* (unworthiness, indignity, indignation). In English

the phrase "righteous indignation" indicates the general idea at bottom of the word.

Ire, a word somewhat more elevated in stylistic use than *anger*, comes to us through French *ire*; from Latin *ira* (anger, wrath, passion, rage, violence, fury, indignation), of which the ultimate etymology is doubtful. A derivative of *ira* is *iracundia* (proneeness to anger, hasty temper, irascibility, anger, wrath, rage, passion, violence). Familiar phrases are: *ira inflammatus*, *ira commotus*, *ira amantium* (lovers' quarrels). From its derivative, *irasci* (to become angry) is derived the adjective *irascibilis*, whence through French, our *irascible* (given to anger, choleric).

Fury, "anger, rage, passion," is derived through Old French *furie*; from Latin *furia* (fury, rage, madness, passion), cognate with *furere* (to rage, to be mad). Skeat correlates with Sanskrit *bhuranya*, "to be active," and refers back to the radical *bhur* (to move about quickly).

Rage, "fury, violent anger," comes into English through French *rage*; from Latin *rabies* (madness, rage, fury). In French *rage*, like the Modern Latin *rabies*, is applied to a mad dog — hydrophobia — and to other animals as well. The verb *rager* signifies in French "to be in a passion, to be angry, to sulk," and *rageur*, "a peevish person." Latin *rabies* is from *rabere* (to rave, to be mad); cognate with Sanskrit *rabh* (to desire vehemently, to act inconsiderately, to seize); the radical of both being Indo-European *rabh* (to seize). From a Low Latin word *rabiare*, derived from *rabia*, a by-form of *rabies*, come Spanish *rabiar* (to rave); Old French *resver*, French *rêver* (to dote, speak idly, rave), Old French *râver*, whence *ravasser* (to rave, to dote, to talk idly), and English *rave* ("to be mad, to talk like a madman;" we have also the phrase "raving mad").

Choler, "bile, anger," through Old French *cholere* (chola, anger); Latin *cholera* (bile, bilious, complaint, cholera), goes back to Greek *χολέρα* (cholera—from *χολή* [also *χόλος*], "gall, bile, rage, anger, wrath, bitterness, anything causing disgust or aversion). These Greek words are cognate with Latin *fel* (gall, bile, anger, rage, animosity, bitterness), and English *gall* (gall, bitterness, anger, bile). The physical basis of the idea is clearly the "bile, gall." From Latin *bilis* (bile, anger, wrath, choler, indignation); through French *bile*, comes our word *bile* (secretion from the liver, bitterness, anger, etc.). Here, again the physical basis of the idea is plain.

Skeat defines *spleen* as "a spongy gland above the kidney, supposed by the ancients to be the seat of anger and ill-humored melancholy," and we talk of "venting our *spleen* upon any one," and of a *splenetic* person—the word comes through Latin *splen* from Greek *σπλήν*, cognate with Sanskrit (*Splīhan*).

In Nipissing, a typical Algonkian dialect of Canada, the words for "anger," *nickatisiwin*, "to be angry," *nickatis*, etc., come from the radical *nick*, which signifies both "angry" and "gland," showing clearly the physical basis of the concept. To Nipissing correspond the Ojibwé *dishkadisiwin*, *nishkadis*, *nishk* (5, p. 270).

Canon Farrar says (6, p. 197): "In Greek the diaphragm (*φρήν*, *renes*, *reins*) is used for the understanding; the liver for feeling; the breast for courage; the nostrils for contempt (cf. *μυκτήρες*, etc.); the stomach and the bile for anger. Similarly in Latin the nostrils are used for taste and refinement; the nose for satire; the eyebrow for sorrow or disdain; the stomach for anger; the throat for gluttony. The Lithuanians use the same word for soul, heart, and stomach, and the same is probably true of many nations. Many of these metaphors have been transferred to English, and we also use the

blood for passion (hot or young blood), the phlegm for dullness, the spleen for envy; we say that a person has sanguine hopes; we talk of a melancholy man, which means properly a man whose bile is black; a man has a nervous style, or is nervous in the hour of trial; and we say of a bitter-minded critic that he has too much gall."

We speak of "fierce anger," and even use *fierce* in the sense of "violent, angry, wrathful." The derivation of the word is through Old French *fiers*; from Latin *ferus* (wild, savage), cognate with *fera* (wild beast). Other phrases in use are "wild with rage," "savage resentment," etc. Here belong the comparisons: "Mad as a hornet," "angry as a bull," "cross as a bear," etc.

The same writer also says: "In Hebrew the heart, the liver, and the kidneys are used for the mind and understanding; the bowels mean mercy, like the Greek *σπλάγχνα*; 'the flesh' means lust; the loins strength; the nose is used for anger, so that 'long of nose' means patient, and 'short of nose' irritable; a 'man of lips' is a babbler (Job xi:2; the neck is the symbol of obstinacy; the head of superiority; thirst or paleness the picturesque representation of fear" (6, p. 196-7).

Shakespeare, in *1 Hen. VI, iv, i, 141*, makes the king say:

"How will their grudging *stomachs* be provoked
To wilful disobedience, and rebel?"

and in *Antony and Cleopatra, iii, iv, 12*, Octavia bids Antony:

"Believe not all, or if you must believe,
Stomach [i. e., resent] not all."

and in Elizabethan literature the word *stomach* had, as had *stomachus* in Classical Latin, the meanings "pride, courage, indignation, anger, resentment, ill-will." Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, says of Arius, that he "became through envy and *stomach* prone unto contradiction." The verb to *stomach* corresponds to French *s'estomaquer*, Latin *stomachari*.

Dr. Holder says: "The ancients made the spleen the seat of melancholy and other ills. Those people living in the malarial belt of the great Mississippi valley, with whom most of my life has been passed, charge to the liver all the ills from which flesh or mind may suffer, while the Indian declares me *spōr' kow-eké*, 'my stomach is bad,' and is truly nearer the right" (10).

In Greek *καρδία*, signifies "stomach," as well as "heart," just as *cœur* does in Modern French.

In the Kootenay Indian language of British Columbia the word for "angry" is *sānitlwinē*, which signifies literally "bad-hearted he-is," from *sānē* (is bad), *īlwi* (heart, mind) — the opposite is *sūkittlwinē*, "well-disposed, glad, happy," from *sūkinē* (is good), and *īlwi* (heart, mind). In analogous fashion are formed *sānitlgōnē*, "sick," literally "bad-bodied he-is," and *sūkittlgōnē*, "well, healthy," literally "good-bodied he-is" (4, p. 394).

According to Park, the African explorer, in the Mandingo, a language of Western Africa, the words "anger" and "angry" are expressed by *jusu bota*, literally "the heart (*jusu*) comes out" (12).

Of the Western Déné Indians of British Columbia, Father Morice remarks: "A single sentence, or periphrastic locution is all that the Carrier has at his disposal to give utterance to such varied movements as sorrow, melancholy, repentance, morosity, displeasure, etc. When moved by any of these, or cognate sentiments, he will never say but: *stzî ndceta*, 'my heart is sick.' The expression *utzi-scetsi*, literally 'his heart is acrid,' signifies 'he is acrimoniously disposed' (11, p. 207).

The primitive Aryans seem to have located in the heart and the viscera the seat of the life of man, the soul, and the emotions, and the languages of their descendants bear many traces of these ideas. We find in Latin: *cordatus* (wise, prudent), *vecors* (senseless, mad, insane), *recordari* (to recollect, call to mind), *credo* ("I believe" — from *erd*-+*dh*), etc.; in German: *herzhaft* (dear, beloved), *herzlich* (cordial), *herzlos* (heartless, faint-hearted), etc.; in English: *heartly*, *heart-broken*, *dishearten*, *heart-rending*, *heart-whole*, *heart-felt*, *heartless*, *black-hearted*, etc.; in French: *sans cœur* (heartless), *au cœur dur* (hard-hearted, heartless), *de bon cœur* (heartily), *avoir le cœur fendu* (to be broken hearted), etc.

In Latin and Greek the *liver* (*jecur*, *ἥπαρ*) "was represented as the seat of the passions, especially of anger and love" (7, p. 265).

Of the Twaka Indians on the head-waters of the Princeapula river in the Mosquito Territory, Central America — although their neighbors the Mosquitos base their special vocabulary upon the word for heart (*kupia*), just as we do — Dr. D. G. Brinton tells us: "The Twaka Indians locate the seat of man's life and emotions, not in the heart, as most nations, but in the liver; and they have in common use such expressions as:

issing sawram, liver-split = angry;
issing pini, liver-white = kind;
issing sani, liver-black = unkind."

With these rude savages "kind" means "white-livered" and the gap between them and the cultured Englishman of to-day is somewhat lessened when we remember that in our own adjective *white-livered* (cowardly) we have preserved a memorial of that far-off past, in which the mind of primitive man failed to distinguish between "kind" and "cowardly." The English *white-livered* and the Twaka *issing-pini* lead us back in the history of mankind to a time when *kindness* to a foe was held to be *cowardice*.

Of the Térraba or Tiribi Indians of Costa Rica, Bishop Thiel is quoted by Dr. Gatschet as saying: "Many of the sensations and mental processes which we attribute to the heart are attributed by the Costaricans to the *liver*, *guo*, and hence such words as *to think*, *remember*, *forget*, *desire*, *sad*, *joyful* are compounded with the syllable *guo*" (8, p. 217).

In sixteenth-century English (the *Satires* of Bishop Hall) we meet with the expression "*liver-sick* of love" (sick at heart).

The Greek *θυμός* (spirit, courage, passion, anger, rage, wrath; soul, heart, life) is derived from *θύω* (I rush or dart along, storm, rage), and from the same root comes *θύάς*, "a mad or inspired woman, a Bacchant." The word is cognate with Latin *fūmus* (smoke), and in English we still speak of "*fuming* with anger," "to get into a *fume*." Sterne even uses *fume* in the sense of "a passionate person." We also use the expression "*storm* of passion," "to *storm*," "a hurricane of wrath," etc. *ὄργη* (impulse, passion, anger, wrath, violent emotion), together with the verb *ὀργᾶω* (I swell with lust, am excited, passionate) — the word is also used of fruit in the sense "to swell as it ripens," of soil, "to swell with produce," etc.), is derived from the root *ὀργ* (to swell). We also say "*swollen* with anger."

In the language of the Samoan Islands *huhu*, the word for "anger, rage" signifies literally "*swell, swell* (*hu*=swell), as we say "*swelling*, *bursting* with passion" (12a).

Μηνις (wrath, anger, malice) comes from the root *men* (to be excited in thought, to be inspired, raving, wrathful, etc.), whence also *μένος* (might, strength, spirit, courage), *μανία* (madness), *μάντις* (a diviner, a seer) — at the basis of all these lies the idea of "mental

excitement." As Latin *mens* (mind) is cognate, all derive ultimately from the Indo-European radical *man*, "to think."

In the language of the Pacific island of Tahiti "*riri*," anger, literally means "*he shouts*" (13, p. 89).

In the Stikeen dialect of the Tlingit language of Alaska we meet with the following expressions: *K'ant-wa nuk*, "angry," *K'anraō*, 'cross,' *K'ān-qa-gaō*, "I am angry." Here *wa nuk* and *raō* are verbal suffixes, between which, as in the last word *K'ān-qa-gaō*, and the radical *k'an* (angry) the pronoun is inserted. *K'ān* (angry) bears a suspicious resemblance to *K'ān* (fire) (2, p. 65). To this category belongs our "incensed." We speak also, as do other peoples, of "*kindling wrath*," and "*smouldering anger*."

A most interesting word in Greek is *νέμεσις* (righteous indignation, anger, wrath, resentment), personified in *Νέμεσις*, the goddess of divine wrath and just retribution, cognate with *νέμησις* (a distribution), from the verb *νέμω* (I distribute, possess, etc.), all from the Indo-European radical *nem* (to pasture, to number, to allot).

In his dictionary of the Niskwalli language of Washington, Dr. George Gibbs gives the following interesting etymologies: "*O-het-sil*, 'to be angry,' *o-het-sil-chid-hwul-dug-we*, 'I am angry with you,' from *o-het*, 'why, what is the matter?' and *si-lus*, 'the forehead.' Derivatives are *ōd-het-sil-us*, 'to sulk, to blush,' *o-he-ha-het-sil*, 'to pretend to be angry.' The radical *o-het-sil* signifies also "to be ashamed," *o-het-sil*, "to be angry," being distinguished from *o-het-sil*, "to be ashamed," only by intonation (9, pp. 309, 310, 348, 296, 351).

If we arrange the words for "anger" discussed above according to the ideas upon which they are based, we have the following:

1. Physical idea of "choking, strangling." English *anger* and its cognates.
2. Physical idea of "writhing, twisting." English *wrath*.
3. Idea of "crookedness, curling." English *cross* and its cognates.
4. Idea of "bursting, tearing asunder." German *Zorn* and its cognates.
5. Idea of "hasty movement." English *fury* and its cognates. Greek *θυμός*.
6. Idea of "seizing upon, grasping after." English *rage* and its cognates.
7. Idea of "making a noise, yelling." German *Grimm* and its cognates. Tahitian *riri*.
8. Idea of "malicious talk, slander." German *böse*.
9. Idea of "mental excitement, excitation." Latin *vates* and its cognates. Greek *μῆνις*.
10. Idea of "swelling." Greek *ὄργή*. Samoan *huhu*.
11. Based upon the "heart." Kootenay *sānithwīnē*. Déné *stzi ndāeta*. Mandingo *jusu bota*.
12. Based upon the "liver." Mosquito *issing sawram*. Terraba.
13. Based upon the "gall, bile," "spleen," "gland." English *choler*, *bile*, *gall*, *spleen*, and cognates. Latin *fel* and cognates. Nipissing *nickatāsiwin*.
14. Based upon the "stomach." Latin *stomachus* and cognates.
15. Based upon the "nose." Hebrew.
16. Based upon the "forehead." Niskwalli *o-het-sil*.
17. Based upon the idea of "indignation at what is unworthy." Latin *indignatio*. Greek *Νέμεσις*.

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